[COMMITTEE PRINT]

99TH CONGRESS
1st Session

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE FOR THE PERIOD COVERING JANUARY 1 THROUGH DECEMBER 31, 1985

NINETY-NINTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

A REPORT TO CONGRESS

Printed for the use of the
Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
57-399 O WASHINGTON : 1986

J892-1

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I. INTRODUCTION

This report has been prepared in accordance with section 6 of Public Law 94-304, dated June 3, 1976, creating the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. It covers the activities of the Commission during the period January 1, 1985 through December 31, 1985.

Commission Background

An independent agency created by Congress, the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe is charged with monitoring and encouraging compliance with the provisions of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). This document was signed on August 1, 1975 in Helsinki, Finland, by the heads of state of the United States, Canada, the Soviet Union and 32 European nations. A 40,000 word document covering nearly every aspect of East-West relations including military security, trade and economic cooperation, human rights and humanitarian affairs and scientific and cultural exchanges, the Final Act, as it is commonly known, calls for periodic review conferences of the 35 nations to review implementation and to discuss new measures to enhance cooperation and security.

The Commission's mandate, as outlined in section 2 of Public Law 94-304, is to "monitor the acts of the signatories which reflect compliance with or violation of the articles of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, with particular regard to the provisions relating to Human Rights and Cooperation in Humanitarian Fields." The Commission is further authorized and directed to "monitor and encourage the development of programs and activities of the U.S. Government and private organizations with a view toward taking advantage of the provisions of the Final Act to expand East-West economic cooperation and a greater interchange of people and ideas between East and West." Carrying out its mandate, the Commission actively documents violations of the Final Act, promotes public awareness of implementation of its provisions and helps formulate and execute U.S. Government policy on these issues.

The Commission was originally composed of 15 Legislative and Executive Branch officials. On March 27, 1985, legislation was passed (Public Law 99-7), which, among other things, increased the number of Commissioners to 21—9 each from the House of Representatives and the Senate and 1 each from the Departments of State, Commerce and Defense. The main purpose of the legislation, however, was to provide for rotation of the chairmanship of the Commission and to create the official position of cochairman. On April 15, 1985, Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato (R-NY) was appointed as Chairman of the Commission by the President of the Senate and

Congressman Steny H. Hoyer (D-MD) was appointed as Cochairman by the Speaker of the House. At the beginning of each Congress hereafter the chairmanship will rotate between the House and Senate.

During the first 4 months of 1985, the Commission was chaired by Representative Dante B. Fascell (D-FL), who had been Chairman since the Commission's creation in 1976. Senators Robert Dole (R-KS) and Orrin Hatch (R-UT) resigned their positions with the Commission effective April 15, 1985. In addition to Chairman D'Amato and Cochairman Hoyer, Congressional Members appointed effective with the new legislation were Senators John Heinz (R-PA), Gordon Humphrey (R-NH), Malcolm Wallop (R-WY), James McClure (R-ID), Caliborne Pell (D-RI), Russell Long (D-LA), Patrick Leahy (D-VT) and Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ); and Representatives Dante Fascell (D-FL), Sidney Yates (D-IL); Timothy Wirth (D-CO), Edward Markey (D-MA), Don Ritter (R-PA), Christopher Smith (R-NJ), John Porter (R-IL) and Jack Kemp (R-NY). Executive Branch Commissioners-observers during 1985 were the Honorable Elliott Abrams, Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, and the Honorable Richard Norman Perle, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Security Policy. The Commerce Department position remained vacant during 1985.

A list of CSCE Commissioners as of April 15, 1985 is attached as *Appendix I* and legislation relating to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe is contained in *Appendix II.*

Staffing

Public Law 99-7 also changed the composition of the permanent staff of the Commission allowing the Chairman and Cochairman to each appoint a senior staff person and, pending the approval of the Personnel and Administration Committee of the Commission, at least four professional staff assistants. Appointment of support staff as well as temporary personnel also requires the approval of the Personnel and Administration Committee.

As of April 15, 1985, the permanent staff consisted of the Staff Director, appointed by Chairman D'Amato, Mr. Michael R. Hathaway, and the General Counsel, appointed by Cochairman Hoyer, Ms. Mary Sue Hafner; and six staff assistant positions filled by employees with various country and functional responsibilities and fluency in all six languages of the CSCE (English, Italian, Spanish, French, German and Russian). The support staff consisted of the Office Manager, Deborah Burns, and the Administrative Assistant, Barbara Edwards. A new position of Executive Assistant, filled by Rebecca Maestri, was created in conjunction with Public Law 99-7. The position of Receptionist/Secretary remained vacant.

Brief biographies of each staff member and a description of their Commission responsibilities can be found in *Appendix II.*

Funding

Under Public Law 94-304, amended by Public Law 99-7, there is authorized to be appropriated for each fiscal year "such sums as may be necessary to enable the Commission to carry out its duties and functions." Appropriations to the Commission are authorized

to remain available until expended. Previous authorization limited the Commission's appropriation for each fiscal year to $550,000. In addition, under title IV, Miscellaneous Provisions, of Public Law 96-60, $6,000 of the amount authorized and appropriated each fiscal year may be used for official reception and representation expenses.

II. CSCE MEETINGS MANDATED BY THE MADRID REVIEW CONFERENCE

The Madrid Review Conference mandated a series of specialized CSCE meetings ranging from military security to human rights to culture. This created, in effect, the foundation for a continuing framework considering a broad spectrum of East-West issues. The Concluding Document of Madrid provided for a Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (CDE) which began in Stockholm in January 1984 and will continue through September 19, 1986. It also mandated specialized meetings on other issues including the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes and Mediterranean Cooperation which were held during 1984. In addition, a 2-week preparatory meeting for the Budapest Cultural Forum was convened in Hungary from November 21 through December 5, 1984.

In 1985, Commissioners and staff actively participated in four CSCE meetings: the Ottawa Human Rights Experts Meeting; the Helsinki 10th Anniversary Commemoration; the Budapest Cultural Forum; and the on-going Stockholm CDE Conference. Prior to each of the meetings, the Commission staff participated in extensive bilateral consultations with Western, neutral and Eastern signatory states. They worked closely with the State Department and other concerned executive agencies, preparing detailed briefing books, files and reports for use by U.S. delegations. Several ideas and actual texts of new proposals, later officially submitted at the various meetings, came from the Commission. Articles, staff reports, publications and documents generated by the respective negotiations were prepared and disseminated by the Commission to Congress and the public.

The last meeting mandated by the Madrid Concluding Document will be an Experts Meeting on Human Contacts in the spring of 1986 in Bern, Switzerland. The next review conference is scheduled to take place in Vienna, Austria beginning in November 1986.

The Commission played a substantive role in Government policy formulation and planning for negotiations of the CSCE. Due to the nature and extent of their influence and expertise, Commissioners and staff have held key positions on all U.S. delegations since the first major review meeting in Belgrade in 1977-78. The presence of Commission Members and staff on such delegations demonstrates broad-based U.S. public concern for human rights as well as bi-partisan congressional resolve to address East-West problems.

Chairman D'Amato and Cochairman Hoyer led a congressional delegation to the Ottawa Human Rights Experts Meeting. Cochairman Hoyer and Commissioner Fascell, together with Representatives Mo Udall, Dan Mica, Lawrence Smith and Cardiss Collins, travelled to the Stockholm CDE. Following the Ottawa and Buda-

pest meetings, the Commission held congressional hearings to assess their outcomes.

In Ottawa and Budapest, Commission staff played especially active and visible roles as senior negotiators, human rights advisors, speech and cable writers, and principal public liaisons. During the conferences, Commission personnel on the U.S. delegations served as the public liaison to interested nongovernmental organizations. Furthermore, the Commission provided a significant part of the administrative support for the delegations.

The Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (CDE)

The Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe is one of the important results of the Madrid Review Conference and, as such, is an integral part of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). The CDE which began in January 1984 in Stockholm, Sweden, met in four negotiating sessions totalling 29 weeks in 1985. The Commission closely followed the deliberations, both in Washington and by periodic participation on the U.S. delegation. Throughout the negotiations, the U.S. delegation, with strong urging from the Commission, has emphasized that the CDE is an integral part of the wider CSCE process and that all CSCE issues, including human rights and security, are inseparable.

The purpose of the Stockholm Conference is to develop and adopt "confidence and security-building measures" (CSBMs) designed to reduce the risk of surprise attack in Europe or the start of war by miscalculation. This concept is an extension of the original confidence-building measures (CBMs) contained in Basket I of the Helsinki Final Act. Thus far, progress at the Stockholm Conference has been slow due to fundamental differences between East and West as to what constitutes the best approach toward developing CSBMs acceptable to all 35 participating States.

During the Ottawa Human Rights Experts Meeting in the Spring of 1985, the Commission CDE representative kept the U.S. delegation in Stockholm informed of the negotiations taking place in Ottawa by supplying them with statements made, allied positions, overall progress, etc. The Commission also emphasized to members of other delegations the concern that Congress placed on human rights within the overall CSCE framework.

In July 1985, Cochairman Steny Hoyer accompanied former Commission Chairman Congressman Dante Fascell on a Congressional Delegation to the CDE. While in Stockholm, the delegation met with Ambassador James Goodby, the head of the U.S. delegation, and Soviet Ambassador Grinevsky and attended the final plenary session of the sixth round of the CDE. During the meeting with the Soviet delegation, human rights questions dominated the discussion. Ambassador Grinevsky stated that linkage would not make it possible to solve international or human rights problems. The Soviet Ambassador stated that the participating States at Stockholm had an agenda to follow and that no one had the right to put forward any issue they so desired or otherwise the participants would have to agree upon a new mandate.

The U.S. congressional delegation disclaimed any such condition for agreement at Stockholm. However, Cochairman Hoyer suggested that small but significant steps could be taken by the Soviet Government such as the release of Shcharansky, Sakharov, Goldshtein and Balovlenkov. He further suggested that greater compliance with the human rights standards put forward at Helsinki and within the Madrid Concluding Document would help to diminish the mutual mistrust that exists between the United States and Soviet Union.

In the fall of 1985, Ambassador Goodby returned to Washington to assume a new post and was replaced by Ambassador Robert Barry, another career Foreign Service diplomat.

In November 1985, the Neutral and Nonaligned States proposed a compromise CDE final document that included, among other provisions, reference to human rights in a multifaceted CSBM package.

Ottawa Human Rights Experts Meeting (HREM)

The NATO countries viewed the HREM as a centerpiece of the post-Madrid human rights-related meetings which the West insisted upon to ensure balance between the Final Act's humanitarian aspects and its security dimension, to be covered by the Stockholm CDE. In accordance with the Ottawa mandate, experts from the 35 participating States convened May 7 to June 18, 1985 to discuss "questions concerning respect, in their States, for human rights and fundamental freedoms, in all their aspects, as embodied in the Final Act." The HREM was also mandated to "draw up conclusions and recommendations to be submitted to the governments of all participating States."

The United States' principal objectives at Ottawa were to demonstrate continued concern for human rights within the CSCE framework and commitment to achieving balanced progress in all aspects of CSCE, including human rights; to conduct an honest review of compliance with CSCE human rights provisions; to seek resolution of specific human rights cases; to encourage improved implementation of the Helsinki and Madrid human rights provisions through agreement on new measures; and to counter efforts by the East to portray their social and economic systems as superior to those of the West in fulfilling human social and economic aspirations.

As early as the Ottawa preparatory meeting, which took place the 2 weeks immediately prior to the main meeting, it was evident that the Soviet Union and its East European allies viewed Ottawa chiefly as a "damage control" exercise. During the review of implementation phase of the meeting, the West and sympathetic neutrals thoroughly addressed the East's human rights violations of freedom of expression, trade union and national minority rights and freedom of religion as well as poor Soviet performance in the social and economic area. In response to the criticism, the Soviet delegation delivered a series of strident broadsides against the ills of capitalist society, taking particular aim at the United States and the United Kingdom.

Due to Soviet intransigence, the meeting failed to fulfill the second part of its mandate—the drawing up of conclusions and rec-

ommendations. Increasingly isolated and resented for their obstructionism, the Soviets refused to deal seriously with Western and neutral proposals related to improved human rights performance, in the end going so far as to block consensus on a recommendation that the Vienna Meeting even consider holding another HREM. The West and the neutrals reaffirmed their essential unity of views and values on human rights, agreeing at the close of the HREM that no final document was preferable to one that would merely paper over differences.

An important legacy of the Ottawa Meeting was the draft document OME. 47, a collection of conclusions and recommendations put forward by 17 Western countries (NATO plus Ireland), which is, in effect, a common human rights agenda containing markers for subsequent negotiations in Budapest, Bern and Vienna.

The Commission staffed and operated the U.S. Delegation Liaison Office to assist the sizable number of nongovernmental representatives of human rights and ethnic advocacy organizations from the United States, Canada and Europe who travelled to Ottawa in connection with the human rights meeting. The delegation liaison office served as an information center on the conference proceedings, a contact point for NGOs, and as the location for a series of U.S. delegation briefings for the NGO public on the content of the negotiations. The liaison office arranged appointments for U.S.-based and U.S.-affiliated NGOs with members of the United States and other delegations and facilitated NGO access to the conference center for this purpose. The largest number of NGOs travelled to Ottawa during the first 2 weeks of the main meeting, with a high of approximately 150 NGOs in attendance during the opening week. Substantially smaller numbers were present thereafter. In addition, Commission staff provided operational and substantive support to the U.S. head of delegation and continuously urged the adoption of a strong stance on human rights issues.

Commission Chairman D'Amato led a congressional delegation to Ottawa on May 10. Accompanying him were Cochairman Hoyer, and Commissioners McClure and Porter. Other members of the delegation included Representatives Lantos (D–CA) and Levin (D–MI). The congressional delegation attended a plenary session of the meeting, hosted a working luncheon with the heads of NATO delegations, engaged in a frank and lengthy discussion with the Soviet delegation on human rights, held a press conference, were featured guests at a reception for nongovernmental representatives hosted by bilateral U.S. Ambassador Robinson, and dined with members of the Canadian Parliament. Later, Representative Benjamin Gilman (R–NY) travelled to Ottawa in order to observe the final round of Ottawa negotiations. Arrangements for the Congressman's trip were made by the Commission staff, who fully briefed him on the meeting's state-of-play and facilitated his activities in Ottawa.

Ceremony Commemorating the 10th Anniversary of the Signing of the Helsinki Final Act

The 10th anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act was observed in the Finnish capital of Helsinki from July 31 through August 3, 1985. All 35 signatories of the Final Act were

represented at the commemoration including the new Soviet Foreign Minister, Edward Shevardnadze, and Secretary of State, George P. Shultz. Secretary Shultz gave a hard-hitting speech detailing continuing violations of the Final Act by the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact states. He cited more than 20 persons who have been victimized in the Soviet Union and Poland and called attention to the arrest of nuns and priests in Czechoslovakia. The Secretary also described violations in the areas of family reunification and Jewish, German and Armenian emigration; persecution of Helsinki monitors and other human rights activists; psychiatric abuse; suppression of free trade unions; religious repression; anti-Semitism; and the disappearance of Andrei Sakharov and his wife, Elena Bonner.

The Soviet Foreign Minister, in his remarks, tried to shift the focus from human rights to European security. Claiming that the Soviet Union "is a dedicated champion of international cooperation in resolving humanitarian issues," the Minister went on to warn that "all these questions are directly related to the sphere of ideology where the Socialist States and the capitalist world hold opposite positions. As a result of the Socialist transformation of our country's society, unemployment, poverty, homelessness and any manifestation of discrimination based on race or nationality have long been eliminated for good."

Against the backdrop of the 10th anniversary commemoration, a bilateral meeting was held between Secretary Shultz and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze. While the substance of the talks was closely held, the principals characterized their 3-hour exchange as "interesting, useful, frank, businesslike and productive."

More than 400 people of Baltic origin arrived in Helsinki on July 18 aboard the chartered *Baltic Peace* and *Freedom Cruise*, designed to call the world's attention to the 45th anniversary of the Soviet invasion of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. They staged Finland's first major anti-Soviet protest since 1968.

Avital Shcharansky, wife of Soviet Helsinki monitor and prisoner of conscience, Anatoly Shcharansky, also travelled to Helsinki in an effort to draw attention to her husband's continuing plight. In addition, other nongovernmental representatives from the United States were present. The Commission was represented on the U.S. delegation by Michael Hathaway, Staff Director; David Seal, Press Secretary; Lynne Davidson and Catherine Cosman, Staff Assistants.

Budapest Cultural Forum (BCF)

During the period October 15 through November 25, 1985, a CSCE Cultural Forum took place in Budapest, Hungary. The mandate of the Cultural Forum, as established at the Madrid Review Conference in 1983, was to discuss interrelated problems concerning creation, dissemination and cooperation, including the promotion and expansion of contacts and exchanges, in the various fields of culture. Frank discussion of human rights-related cultural problems such as denial of religious and creative freedom, censorship, jamming and suppression of the cultural identity of national minority groups was possible but agreement on a substantive conclud-

ing document was not. In all areas where Soviet agreement was not required, the results were good; where consensus was required, the Soviets and their allies blocked progress. Contrary to the hopes of many delegations, the Reagan-Gorbachev summit had no perceptible impact on the Forum.

The Forum had a shaky start. The Hungarian Government's treatment of the International Helsinki Federation's (IHF) Cultural Symposium during the opening week was a serious breach of its Madrid commitment regarding private individuals' and groups' activities. Prevented by Hungarian authorities from meeting in a hotel reception room they had reserved for their Cultural Symposium, the IHF proceeded with its activities in private homes. Under pressure from Western and Neutral delegations, and from mounting criticism in the press, the Hungarian Government did not interfere further in the events of the 3-day symposium.

Within the Forum many Western delegations initially focused on noncontroversial cooperative measures rather than on cultural human rights problems. Concerned, the U.S. delegation led the way in spelling out the fundamental human rights-related problems impeding East-West cultural development. As the meeting proceeded, the discussions on human and cultural rights issues gradually assumed a more prominent place.

The U.S. delegation believed identification and open discussion of impediments to free expression and to the flow of ideas, information and people in all cultural fields was a primary objective of the Budapest Cultural Forum. Accordingly, the U.S. delegation was responsible for naming 22 of the 26 victims of cultural repression from the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Romania mentioned at the Forum. Furthermore, the majority of the 35 Western proposals submitted during the meeting were intended to address these problems.

Because of the adamant opposition of the Soviet Union, a substantive concluding document for the Budapest Cultural Forum seeking to remove the human rights impediments to culture in the East was not achieved. As had been the case at Ottawa, Soviet refusal to seriously negotiate toward a substantive compromise concluding document both cemented NATO unity and alienated the Neutrals. All NATO countries plus Ireland, however, sponsored an omnibus draft document, BCF. 116, which incorporated jointly agreed Western proposals as well as a few proposals from individual Western delegations. BCF. 116 also appended without comment an annex of over 200 proposals submitted either informally by cultural personalities or officially by delegations. All the participants, except those of the Eastern bloc, saw these proposals as a sign of the vitality of the Forum. Like its counterpart OME. 47 from the Ottawa Human Rights Experts Meeting, BCF. 116 should be a key building block for a strong Western negotiating position going into the Vienna Review Meeting of the CSCE in November 1986.

III. PUBLIC HEARINGS

The Ottawa Human Rights Experts Meeting and the Future of the CSCE Process

On June 25, 1985, the Commission held a public hearing to review the results of the Human Rights Experts Meeting held in Ottawa, Canada from May 7 through June 17, 1985, and to hear testimony on the future of the CSCE process. Appearing before the Commission were Ambassador Richard Schifter, who headed the U.S. delegation to the Ottawa Meeting; Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, Mark Palmer; Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, Gary Matthews; and Congressman Benjamin Gilman, Representative from New York.

Human Rights Abuses in Cyprus

A hearing was conducted in New York City on July 20, 1985, to investigate allegations of human rights abuses on the island of Cyprus and to question the disappearance of more than 1,600 people during the Turkish invasion of Cyprus more than 10 years ago, including 8 American citizens. Testifying at the hearing were officials from the Department of State; former Greek Cypriots, including the father of one of the missing Americans; and representatives of the Turkish-Cypriot community in the United States.

Use of Forced Labor in the Soviet Union

A hearing on the Soviet forced labor system and the issue of U.S. importation of goods made under this system was held on August 15, 1985 in Buffalo, N.Y. Three panels of witnesses appeared to present testimony on the subject. Panel 1 consisted of Aleksandr Ginzburg, a prominent human rights activist and founding member of the Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group, and Pastor Georgy Vins, a leader of the reformed Baptist movement in the Soviet Union. Both men spent considerable time in Soviet labor camps before being freed in April 1979 along with three others in a trade for two convicted KGB agents being held in the United States.

The second panel included Richard Miller, Associate Commissioner of Customs, and J. Robert McBrien, Deputy to Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. The last witness was Mr. Daniel Popeo, founder and general counsel of the Washington Legal Foundation. The Foundation represents 35 Members of Congress in a lawsuit asking the court to direct the Treasury Department and Customs Service to invoke a ban on U.S. imports made with forced labor in the Soviet Union.

Human Rights and the CSCE Process

On October 3, 1985, the Commission held the first in a series of hearings on how the CSCE process can best attain its goals of true security and cooperation in the future. The list of witnesses included Rita Hauser, Chairperson of the International Advisory Board of the International Parliamentary Group for Human Rights in the Soviet Union (IPG); Jeri Laber, Executive Director of the New

York-based Helsinki Watch Committee; and Leonard Sussman, Executive Director of Freedom House. The Commission also heard the views of two former members of the Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group, Dr. Yuri Yarim-Agaev and Ludmilla Alexeyeva.

Restrictions on Artistic Freedom in the Soviet Union

In a effort to focus public attention on and increase public understanding of the important issues being discussed at the Budapest Cultural Forum, the Commission held a hearing on October 29, 1985, 2 weeks after the opening of the Budapest Cultural Forum, to discuss artistic freedom—or the lack thereof—in the Soviet Union. Testifying at the hearing were Michael Scammell, author of the award-winning book *Solzhenitsyn, A Biography;* Oleg Vidov, a Soviet film star who defected in August; Maxim Shostakovich, Soviet pianist and conductor who defected in 1981; and Vasily Aksyonov, one of the most popular Soviet novelists and screenwriters who was forcibly exiled in 1980. Mr. George Jacobs also testified on Soviet jamming of radio broadcasts.

Soviet Violations of the Helsinki Accords in Afghanistan

Although Afghanistan is not a signatory to the Helsinki Final Act, the Soviet invasion and occupation is a violation of several principles of the Accords including sovereign equality, non-use of force, self-determination of peoples, cooperation among states and fulfillment of obligations made under international law.

The hearing, which was held on the morning of December 4, 1985, included testimony from Ambassador Gerald Helman, Director of the State Department's Interagency Task Force on Afghanistan; Ambassador Richard Schifter, Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs; Ms. Jan Goodwin, Executive Editor of Ladies' Home Journal, who recently returned from Afghanistan after spending 3 months documenting the resistance effort; Mr. Kurt Lobek, film journalist, with recent film footage of fighting in Afghanistan; Mr. Mykola Movchan, former member of the Soviet occupation forces who defected to the resistance; and two members of the Islamic National Front, one of the several allied resistance groups.

Hearing on the Budapest Cultural Forum

On December, 11, 1985, a hearing was held to review the work of the recently-concluded Budapest Cultural Forum. In addition to the head of the U.S. delegation, Ambassador Walter Stoessel, testimony was received from two U.S. cultural figures who served on the delegation, Mr. David Ives and Mr. Billy Taylor. Janet Fleischman, representing Helsinki Watch, also appeared.

IV. REPORTS AND PRINTED DOCUMENTS

In addition to formal hearing records, the following reports and miscellaneous documents were printed in 1985 and available from the Commission:

CSCE Digest—The *Digest* offers a sampling of American and European media coverage of Helsinki-related topics as well as infor-

mation on meetings of the CSCE and Commission activities. This monthly periodical was disseminated to interested Members of Congress, governmental and private organizations, and to the press and the general public in the United States and Europe. Beginning in October of 1985, the *Digest* took on a new look which we hope will be more useful to our readers. Now printed in the form of a fold-out newsletter, the *Digest* contains current interest articles as well as updates of previous information.

Summary of 1984 Trends in Soviet Dissent.—A six-page update prepared by the Commission staff in January 1985.

The U.S. General Accounting Office, at the request of Congressman Dante Fascell, conducted an evaluation of the work of the Commission during his tenure. The report, entitled *Helsinki Commission: the First 8 Years*, took nearly 15 months of research and was released on March 21, 1985. It concluded that the Commission had become a principal Western source of information on Soviet and East European compliance with the Helsinki Final Act; played a major role in planning and conducting U.S. Helsinki diplomacy; effectively promoted a strong U.S. human rights policy in the East-West dialogue on cooperation and security in Europe; and helped resolve numerous family reunification cases involving citizens of Soviet bloc countries. The report also praised the performance of the Commission claiming that, "with a small but highly professional staff, the Commission has made a valuable contribution to the Helsinki process and has had a significant impact on U.S. foreign policy."

A report on the positive aspects of the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act during the period 1975 through 1984, was released in the spring of 1985. Entitled *The Helsinki Process and East-West Relations: Progress in Perspective*, the report was researched and compiled by the staff of the Commission.

Two *Semiannual Reports by the President to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe* were released in 1985. The 18th semiannual report covered the period October 1, 1984–April 1, 1985 and the 19th semiannual report covered the period April 1 to October 1, 1985. Initiated in December 1976, the reports are required by the legislation establishing the Commission and are prepared by the State Department. The chronicle implementation (or violation) of Helsinki provisions by CSCE signatory States. The Commission widely disseminates the semiannual reports to the press, the public and official and private organizations in all signatory countries.

An informational bulletin entitled *The Helsinki Process—10 Years Later* was prepared in advance of the ceremonies commemorating the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act which were held in Helsinki, Finland during the period July 29 to August 3, 1985. This compilation highlighted specific developments within the Helsinki framework over the past 10 years.

A listing of all Commission publications is attached as *Appendix IV.*

V. MEETINGS AND OFFICIAL ACTIVITIES

Distinguished Polish defense lawyer Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki, known for his courageous efforts on behalf of KOR and Solidarity

activists, met with Commission staff and liaisons on January 24, 1985, to discuss conditions in Poland in general and the meaning and conduct of the Popieluszko trial in particular.

On March 12, 1985, the Commission met with Mr. Klaus Sahlgren, Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, to discuss implementation of the Basket II section of the Helsinki Final Act. Mr. Sahlgren was accompanied by his senior advisor, Mr. Arthur Stillman.

A luncheon, hosted by the Commission in honor of Ambassador Ilmar Bekeris, head of the Swedish delegation to the Ottawa Human Rights Experts Meeting, was held on March 22, 1985. The luncheon followed bilateral consultations at the State Department on planning for the Ottawa Meeting.

On July 9, 1985, Chairman D'Amato and Cochairman Hoyer testified before the Senate Finance Subcommittee on International Trade on the issue of forced labor in the Soviet Union. Both Commissioners strongly urged that section 307 of the 1930 Tariff Act be enforced where there is sufficiently credible evidence that those goods are produced or manufactured by forced labor in the Soviet Union.

A farewell reception was held on July 11, 1985, for Representative Dante Fascell, Chairman of the Commission since it was created June 3, 1976. The reception was well attended by representatives of all local groups and foreign dignitaries interested in the CSCE process, who joined the new Chairman, Senator Alfonse D'Amato, and Cochairman, Congressman Steny H. Hoyer, in commending Congressman Fascell's outstanding leadership of the Commission.

Each year, during the congressional MFN hearings, Commissioners present detailed testimony on the state of human rights in Hungary and Romania. On July 23, 1985, Senator John Heinz (R-PA), who serves on the Subcommittee on International Trade and is also a CSCE Commissioner, presented the Commission's MFN testimony. Romania's mixed emigration performance and poor human rights record was the primary focus of concern.

On July 24, 1985, the Commission held an informal meeting in the offices of Representative John Porter with Maltese Opposition Leader, Dr. Edward Fenech-Adami, and his shadow Foreign Minister, Mr. Buttigeg-Scicluna. During the course of the meeting, concern was expressed by the Maltese over the human rights practices of the present Socialist Government in their country. They urged the Commission and the U.S. Government to pressure Malta to abide by their obligations under the Helsinki Final Act.

The Commission, the Congressional Human Rights Caucus, the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews, the Washington Committee for Soviet Jewry and Boston Action for Soviet Jewry, cosponsored a musical reception featuring the Klezmer Conservatory Band. The concert, which took place on July 31, 1985, coincided with the ceremonies commemorating the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act and was held to express solidarity with the "Phantom Orchestra" in the Soviet Union. Members of the "Phantom Orchestra" of Tbilisi, U.S.S.R., along with long-time refuseniks Isai and Grigory Goldshtein, were interrogated by the KGB and some members were arrested during a visit by the Klezmer Band

in May 1985. The Band was subsequently expelled from the Soviet Union. A number of Members of Congress addressed the gathering including Commission Chairman D'Amato and Cochairman Hoyer.

Cochairman Steny H. Hoyer joined the House Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations at a hearing on Soviet Jewry on September 11. Testifying before the Committee were Counselor Edward Derwinski for the Administration; Morris Abram for the National Conference on Soviet Jewry; Morey Schapira for the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews; Israel Singer for the World Jewish Congress; Herb Cronish for the Coalition to Free Soviet Jews; Izzi Leibler for the International Conference of Soviet Jewry; and Leonid Feldman, a former refusenik. The focus of the hearing was on how human rights concerns, including those of Soviet Jews, would figure in preparations for the Reagan-Gorbachev summit.

Cochairman Steny H. Hoyer met with Alexei Semyonov, stepson of Nobel Peace Prize laureate Andrei Sakharov, on September 12. Mr. Semyonov was on a hunger strike in front of the Soviet Embassy protesting Soviet mistreatment of his parents from whom he had not heard in 4 months. In his statement on the floor of the House the following day, Congressman Hoyer noted that:

> If the leaders of the Soviet Union truly wish to improve the atmosphere for the November summit in Geneva, then let them observe the human rights accords they signed 10 years ago and permit the International Red Cross to visit and report on the Sakharovs' condition. In addition, I urge you to join me in requesting the Soviet leaders, as a confidence-building measure, to release Andrei Sakharov and Elena Bonner before the November summit.

On September 30, 1985, Cochairman Hoyer joined Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs, Rozanne L. Ridgway as guest speaker at a luncheon for those cultural figures serving on the U.S. delegation to the Budapest Cultural Forum.

On the Sunday preceding the summit, November 17, 1985, Cochairman Steny H. Hoyer, at the invitation of the Jewish Community Council of Washington, addressed more than 1,500 gathered in Lafayette Park on the issue of human rights. Cochairman Hoyer stressed that the issue is one that "binds the parties in this country. Respect for civil, political and religious freedom strengthens diversity and makes us spiritually and morally stronger. If we failed to raise the issue with Gorbachev . . . then U.S. foreign policy would fail to reflect the values of the American people."

A delegation representing the Subcommittee on the Free Flow of Information of the North Atlantic Assembly (NAA) visited Washington during the first week of December. A meeting with Cochairman Hoyer and a working luncheon attended by other CSCE Commissioners and staff and interested Members of Congress, to discuss human rights issues in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, took place on December 3, 1985.

VI. MONITORING COMPLIANCE: HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMAN CONTACTS CASEWORK

Mandated by its enacting legislation to pay particular heed to the humanitarian provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, the Commission devotes considerable time and attention to researching violations of these provisions by the Warsaw Pact countries. The Com-

mission receives a steady stream of letters and information on human rights problems from individuals, private and governmental organizations in the United States and Europe, as well as from various unofficial citizens' groups and individuals in the Warsaw Pact nations. This material is augmented by State Department cables; Foreign Broadcast Information and Joint Publications Research Service translations of official government statements; East and West European and Soviet media; and relevant reports from Western and emigre press.

This massive documentation on human rights problems in the Warsaw Pact countries is organized into two kinds of files· issue files, including topical reports on national, religious, cultural, political, civil, ethnic, social and economic problems; and individual case files, including information on 775 individual Soviet prisoners of conscience. These files on human rights problems are updated on a regular basis as new information becomes available from various sources.

These voluminous but well organized files on human rights issues and individual prisoners of conscience are used extensively by the Commission staff for researching reports and special projects, preparing background materials for hearings and providing information for numerous speeches by Commissioners. During 1985, the U.S. delegation to the Ottawa Human Rights Experts Meeting and the Budapest Cultural Forum referred to these files when responding to inquires from the public, Congress, the media and various researchers, and to compile briefing materials for congressional delegations.

Special human rights projects in 1985 included updating lists of imprisoned Soviet peace activists, independent labor union advocates, religious believers and members of Soviet Helsinki Groups; submitting a nomination for the 1985 Nobel Peace Prize naming five imprisoned Soviet human rights activists; and providing information and assistance to governmental and private organizations on various Helsinki-related issues. Periodic interviews with former citizens of Warsaw Pact nations who recently relocated to the West provided information on the latest human rights developments in their country. In addition, Commission staff conducted research on such topics as censorship in the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe; forced labor; interruption of mail and telephone service between the West and the Soviet Union; Soviet *samizdat* literature; and Soviet policies toward dissent and nationalities.

Much of the Commission staff's daily work has focused on individual cases falling under the Final Act's human contacts provisions such as family reunification, binational marriage, and travel barriers between East and West. The cases, which form a substantial portion of the Commission's total casework, are handled by a full-time caseworker in collaboration with country/area officers and with the assistance of student interns. Most incoming casework correspondence comes from individuals and organizations trying to facilitate the emigration of their relatives, friends or colleagues from the Soviet Union and Romania, and Members of Congress who forward constituent mail for reply.

The staff maintains extensive files on thousands of human contacts cases and many staff hours are spent on casework correspond-

ence. The Commission staff compiles and regularly updates lists of unresolved human contacts cases and maintains contact with our Embassies in Eastern Europe in order to ascertain the most current information on them. Periodically, the Commission presents lists of unresolved human contacts cases to representatives of East European Governments and corresponds when necessary with representatives of these governments on more pressing individual cases. On a regular basis, the Commission provides information on individual cases to congressional delegations visiting the Soviet Union and to delegates at the various CSCE meetings. The Commission staff also spends time counseling and advising family members, concerned individuals, representatives of private groups and congressional staffs on possible strategies to resolve human contacts cases.

VII. ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND INTERCHANGE OF PEOPLE

The Commission continued to implement its second mandate, to monitor and encourage governmental and private programs aimed at expanding East-West economic cooperation and the interchange of people.

Regarding economic cooperation, the Commission staff has closely monitored East-West trade developments, such as the resumption of high level trade talks between the United States and the Soviet Union. Such developments have often been reported and analyzed in the *CSCE Digest*. Relevant information on specific aspects of East-West economic relations have also been disseminated by the Commission staff to requesting parties, both governmental and private.

While the Madrid Concluding Document mandated the holding of fora for the discussion of specific topics covered by the Helsinki process, none of them focused on issues relating to Basket II, economic and scientific cooperation. Instead, the participating States called upon the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), located in Geneva, Switzerland, to implement the Basket II provisions of the Concluding Document of a multilateral nature. The ECE therefore incorporated CSCE-related activity into its program of work. The Commission has been involved in this activity, participating as part of the U.S. delegations to both the annual plenary sessions of the ECE and to meetings of the ECE's Committee on the Development of Trade.

The 40th Plenary Session of the ECE took place April 16–26, 1985. Its primary purpose was to examine the program of work for the ensuing year, much of which involves technical and detailed studies and discussions among specialists in various fields such as transportation, energy, environment and trade. The Commission staff present on the delegation assisted in the drafting of the opening U.S. statement and in preparing and delivering statements on specific areas of the ECE's work, especially in the area of East-West trade. This involvement was beneficial in stressing a CSCE viewpoint in a U.N. Forum.

The 34th Meeting of the Committee on the Development of Trade took place December 2–6, 1985. The committee analyzes East-West

trade policies, trends and prospects more specifically than do the ECE plenary sessions, focusing on issues such as countertrade, quantitative restrictions on imports, export controls, economic and commercial information, business facilities, the granting of MFN trade status, etc., all relevant to Basket II. The U.S. delegation was successful in defending the current U.S. position on East-West trade and focused much attention on Eastern shortcomings in trade with the West, citing CSCE provisions on publishing sufficiently detailed economic and commercial information, problems with countertrade transactions in all their forms, and improving business facilities. Commission staff present at the meeting assisted in drafting U.S. statements on East-West trade and countertrade as well as in defense of export controls. For the second consecutive year, the Commission staff also represented the Western delegations (consisting of the NATO and the neutral and nonaligned States) as rapporteur to prepare the draft report of the committee meeting.

With the arrival last September of an experienced Foreign Service Officer on loan from the State Department, the Commission began to explore ways to foster better implementation of those aspects of the Final Act relating to expanding the East-West interchange of people and ideas. Suggestions were solicited from organizations engaged in cooperation and interchange with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. By utilizing the experiences of these organizations and by consulting with government agencies which sponsor and fund exchange programs, the Commission intends to facilitate such programs and to assist in seeking sources to fund them. The Commission also acted as an informal clearing house by responding to many inquiries from interested persons and organizations and referring them to appropriate exchange programs in which they might wish to participate. The initiation of Commission facilitative services in this area and other developments in East-West exchange programs were reported in the *CSCE Digest.*

VIII. COORDINATION AND POLICY: UNITED STATES AND INTERNATIONAL

During 1985, the Commission continued to assist in the development, coordination and implementation of U.S. policy on CSCE issues. The Commission worked closely with other U.S. Government agencies to develop policies and took part in consultations with many of the other 34 countries participating in the Helsinki process.

The Commission worked closely with the Bureau of European Affairs of the Department of State. The Commission staff met frequently with State Department officers who were concerned with CSCE matters and with other Department officers whose work is related to CSCE issues, including the desk officers of most of the signatory States. The Regional Political Military Affairs Office in the European Bureau regularly provided the staff with copies of State Department cables related to CSCE matters.

Commission staff members and representatives of other organizations in the U.S. Government, including the Department of Defense, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, U.S. Informa-

tion Agency and the Department of Commerce, participated actively with the Department of State in the formulation of policy positions relating to CSCE in general, and the Ottawa Human Rights Experts Meeting and the Budapest Cultural Forum in particular.

During the annual Most-Favored-Nation review of Hungary's and Romania's emigration performance by the President and Congress under the terms of section 403 (Jackson-Vanik amendment) of the 1974 Trade act, the multilateral goals of CSCE dovetail with bilateral interests. The Helsinki Final Act intrinsically links the development of international trade to the exercise of fundamental human rights and freedoms. That same idea is inherent in the Jackson-Vanik amendment, which prohibits the awarding of MFN trading status to Communist countries that deny citizens the right or opportunity to emigrate or impose more than a nominal fee connected with emigration.

The MFN review pulls into play the whole panoply of executive branch, congressional, and private entities interested in bilateral relations with Hungary and Romania. The Commission, a focus of executive, legislative and private human rights activity concerning these countries on a year-round basis, traditionally has played a major role in coordinating the humanitarian aspects of the MFN review. The Commission serves as a clearinghouse on human rights information for Congress and NGOs. It works in concert with other government agencies, particularly the State Department, to promote humanitarian aims. The Commission maintains a constructive and steady dialogue on human rights issues with the Hungarian and Romanian Governments in the form of exchanges of letters and the presentation of case lists to Hungarian and Romanian officials, liaison with the respective Embassies and foreign ministries and close contact with Hungarian and Romanian delegations in multilateral meetings of the CSCE.

The Commission also participated in consultations with other signatories to the Final Act. The principal forums for coordinating the positions of the allies on CSCE issues have been NATO headquarters in Brussels and informal meetings of the allied heads of delegations and their principal aides held in various West European cities. Commission staff members participated regularly in these consultative meetings.

Commission staff also participated in bilateral consultations in the United States with several CSCE signatories. In addition, staff members continued regular contacts with Embassy officials from several CSCE States including the FRG, France, Turkey, Switzerland, Yugoslavia, Romania and Hungary.

IX. COOPERATION WITH NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS AND OTHER PUBLIC CONTACTS

Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) are a primary source of information for the Commission as well as a major channel through which the Commission publicizes its work. The Commission is geared to bring the particular CSCE-related concerns of private groups to the attention of the government decision-makers. In turn, the Commission endeavors to make government policies and activities regarding CSCE more accessible to NGOs.

The Commission keeps in close and regular contact with representatives of the various human rights, ethnic and religious groups in the United States and abroad who are actively interested in CSCE. Over 1,000 members of the NGO community regularly receive Commission publications. NGO representatives are invited to attend the various Commission-sponsored events. Through hearings and other public activities, the Commission attempts to provide a forum for NGOs to express their views. Private witnesses are invited to testify and submit statements at these public events for which NGOs have often provided the impetus. On a less formal basis, Commissioners and staff members frequently meet and consult with representatives of private organizations.

Traditionally, Commission staff members of U.S. delegations to CSCE meetings serve as the principal liaisons to NGOs. Such liaison work includes facilitating NGO access to the conference site; arranging appointments with United States and other delegations; briefing NGOs on the negotiations taking place; and attending and supporting NGO activities related to the conferences. During and after CSCE meetings, the Commission publicizes the proceedings in the form of feature articles appearing in the *CSCE Digest*, lectures to NGO groups, interviews with the NGO media and publishes staff reports.

During 1985, the Commission participated at home and abroad in numerous conferences, seminars, assemblies and meetings hosted by professional associations and private organizations such as the International Studies Association and the Network of Women in Slavic Studies. The Commission staff helped to coordinate the Fifth International Sakharov Hearing, held April 10–11, 1985 in London. Commission staff members presented reports and papers, delivered speeches and participated in panel discussions at numerous universities and academic institutions, including the U.S. Foreign Service Institute, the Heritage Foundation and the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.

The CSCE Commission was awarded the Solzhenitsyn Freedoms Award for 1984 from Christian Solidarity International/U.S.A., Inc. "in recognition of their valuable contribution on behalf of those persecuted for their faith." In November 1985, former Commission Chairman, Congressman Dante B. Fascell received the Anatoly Shcharansky Freedom Award by the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews.

X. CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS

Although the Commission is an independent agency with representation from the executive branch, 18 of the 21 Commissioners are Members of Congress. The Commission works closely with individual Members, committees, subcommittees, and the congressional research service of the Library of Congress.

In 1985, the Commission staff regularly responded to congressional inquiries regarding the CSCE process, particularly in the area of human rights as well as a number of associated issues affecting East-West relations. In the spring of 1985, the Commission organized a delegation of Commissioners and members of the Congres-

sional Human Rights Caucus to the Ottawa Human Rights Experts Meeting.

The Commission staff also filled numerous requests for information on the status of individuals whose cases represent violations of the humanitarian provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and/or Madrid Concluding Document. If requested, the Commission suggested appropriate actions that a Member might take, along with material for the preparation of speeches, statements for the *Congressional Record* and drafted letters or speeches for the Member's use. If the staff was unable to furnish the necessary information, it referred the Member's office to the appropriate private organization or Government agency.

The Commission also functions as a clearinghouse for information about congressional activities on United States-European human rights and other Helsinki-related issues. Often, congressional staffers contacted the Commission to inquire what other congressional offices had been active in a particular case and what actions had been taken on behalf of that case. Many offices routinely send the Commission copies of letters they have sent or statements they have made regarding individual cases so that the Commission can keep abreast of these efforts and be better able to inform other offices.

The Commission worked closely with, and provided information to, several congressional human rights groups in 1985 including the Congressional Human Rights Caucus, the Advisory Council on Religious Rights, the Interparliamentary Group on Human Rights in the Soviet Union, the Friends of Human Rights Monitors and the Ad Hoc Committee on the Baltics and Ukraine.

The Commission supplied background and briefing materials to Members of Congress who travelled to the Soviet Union or other Warsaw Pact states, or would be meeting these nations' representatives in other venues, in 1985. In several instances, Commission staff conducted briefings for congressional delegations prior to their departure. The Commission also provided briefing materials for Members participating in interparliamentary groups such as the North Atlantic Assembly and the European Parliament.

Commission publications are available to all congressional offices and hearing notifications are published in the *Congressional Record* to inform interested Members of the Commission's activities.

While the Commission has no legislative authority, the Commission staff serves as a resource for Members of Congress, their staffs and committee staffers, assisting them with legislation dealing with CSCE, human rights and related issues.

For example, under the leadership of Commission Member Congressman Dante B. Fascell, the House passed S.J. Res. 32 authorizing and requesting the President to designate September 21, 1986 as *Ethnic American Day*. Chairman D'Amato cospnsored this measure in the Senate. Cochairman Hoyer, in support of the resolution, stated:

> That a day set aside in recognition of the contributions made by all ethnic Americans would display a pride in the many heritages of the United States, a passion for the freedom upon which the U.S. Government rests, and an awareness that the strength of the national unity lies at least in part on our cultural heritage and diversity.

Chairman D'Amato introduced S.J. Res. 66, a bill to designate July 14, 1985 as Baltic Freedom Day. This measure, supported by 18 cosponsors, passed the Senate on May 3, 1985, becoming Public Law 99-49.

Cochairman Hoyer joined Representative Jack Kemp, a Member of the Commission, Representative Wyche Fowler, Cochairman of the Congressional Coalition on Soviet Jewry and Avital Shcharansky, wife of Soviet dissident Anatoly Shcharansky, in testifying before Commissioner Dante B. Fascell, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, on S.J. Res. 161. The resolution called upon the Soviet Union to recognize the need, in the interests of improving United States-Soviet relations, to ease the plight of thousands of Soviet Jews who wish to emigrate from the Soviet Union to Israel, their historic homeland, or be reunited with their families abroad and sought the release of Anatoly Shcharansky and other prisoners of conscience. S.J. Res. 161 passed the House on July 25 and became law on August 6.

Identical bills were introduced on July 29, 1985 by Chairman D'Amato and Cochairman Hoyer in their respective Houses dealing with the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. Chairman D'Amato led the Senate in its passage of S.J. Res. 180 and noted that the rationale of the resolution was not merely a commemorative message on the Helsinki anniversary but also a congressional reaffirmation of the United States' deep commitment to human rights as a guiding principle of American foreign policy. Following the Senate action by 1 day, the House passed S.J. Res. 180 by a vote of 414 to 0. Cochairman Hoyer, managing the bill on the floor, reaffirmed the pledge of faith that the Western democracies took with the persecuted in the East by signing the Helsinki accords. He stressed that for these courageous men and women, the Helsinki process remains a source of inspiration and of hope. As a lifeline, however thin it may be, it is not for us to sever. Signed into law on August 2, Public Law 99-79 reaffirmed congressional support of the human rights principles and humanitarian provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and the Madrid Concluding Document and expressed congressional urging that the President direct the United States Department of State to take full advantage of the opportunities provided by all upcoming meetings of Helsinki signatory States to call the Soviet Union and its allies to account for ongoing human rights violations and to work constructively with the Governments of the other Western democracies to promote human rights progress in the Eastern signatory States. In addition to sponsoring legislation commemorating the 10th anniversary, the Chair and Cochair organized special orders providing time for Members to speak on the issues surrounding the Helsinki process.

On October 17, 1985, 2 days after the start of the Budapest Cultural Forum, Chairman Alfonse D'Amato and Cochairman Steny Hoyer organized special orders in their respective Houses to bring to the attention of the American public the Budapest Cultural Forum and highlight the human rights issues being discussed there. Cochairman Hoyer called attention to the death of one of Ukraine's leading contemporary poets, Vasyl Stus, who died in a Soviet prison at the age of 47 while serving the 13th year of a 23-

year prison and exile term. Stus had pointedly questioned how the Ukraine could have literature when more than half its writers are missing. Chairman D'Amato denounced Hungary's violation of its commitment to allow the full range of activities for nongovernmental organizations as established at Madrid. Senator D'Amato also noted the relevant and positive role that individuals as well as institutions, organizations and governments play in the CSCE process and expressed concern over the effect that the Hungarian Government's banning of certain activities by such individuals and organizations would have on the rest of the Forum as well as the CSCE process itself.

Cochairman Hoyer joined fellow Commissioner, Representative John Porter, and Representative Tom Lantos on the floor of the House on December 9 to commemorate International Human Rights Day. Representative Hoyer noted that December 10 is a day set aside to speak of the hopes of literally millions, for family reunification; freedom of religion, belief, thought, conscience and expression; minority rights and self-determination of peoples; and equality before the law.

Commission Member, Representative Dante B. Fascell, sponsored and brought to the House floor H. Res. 76, expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that the Soviet Union should allow Igor Ogurtsov to be released from internal exile and allowed to emigrate to the West without renouncing his views. The resolution was agreed to by a two-thirds vote.

XI. MEDIA ACTIVITIES

The main periodical publication of the Commission is the *CSCE Digest*. The *Digest* presents a detailed compilation of significant United States and European media coverage of Helsinki-related topics as well as staff studies on selected issues. The *Digest* serves as a vehicle for reporting to the public significant activities of the Commissioners and legislative actions in Congress pertaining to East-West relations and human rights conditions in the CSCE signatory countries. Selected Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) daily translations of media in the Soviet Union, Eastern and Western Europe are included in the *Digest* as are articles relevant to the CSCE process and East-West relations. The *CSCE Digest* is disseminated to interested Members of Congress, governmental and private organizations, media representatives and the general public in the United States and abroad. Currently the mailing list for the *CSCE Digest* includes over 1,000 individuals and organizations both in the United States and overseas.

The *Digest* was changed in style and content in 1985. The length was reduced to four pages, presented in an attractive, professionally-designed format. The content was changed from longer to shorter more concise articles on major human rights themes and activities of the Commission.

The Commission maintained extensive contacts with media representatives of human rights organizations and groups concerned with national, ethnic and religious rights. Such organizations themselves publish newspapers, journals and information bulletins. They have welcomed information on Commission activities, general

information on human rights issues and translations of *samizdat* documents by the Commission staff.

The Commission worked closely with the media elements of U.S. Government agencies—especially the language services of the Voice of America, the Press Service of the United States Information Agency and the news staffs of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. These organizations are vital to the Commission's work since they carry its message to East European and Soviet audiences whose access to uncensored information is restricted by their own governments. VOA, RFE and Radio Liberty gave extensive coverage to Commission activities with special emphasis on public hearings, the followup meetings to the Madrid CSCE Review Conference held in Ottawa and Budapest and the Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe ongoing in Stockholm. The effectiveness of their coverage has been frequently demonstrated by the appearance of criticism of their reports in the Soviet and East European media.

On May 31, former Commission Chairman Dante Fascell gave a half-hour taped interview to correspondents from VOA, BBC and Il Tempo on the Helsinki process and other foreign policy topics. On November 3, 1985, Cochairman Steny H. Hoyer was invited to appear on the Voice of America's new "Talk to America" show. The theme of the program was human rights and the Helsinki Final Act. The show allowed interested callers from all over the world to ask questions on the above topic as well as demonstrate the United States' commitment to the Helsinki Final Act and underscore Soviet noncompliance with its principles.

A number of press conferences were conducted throughout 1985 dealing with a wide-range of Helsinki-related issues. On May 7, Chairman D'Amato and Commissioner Malcolm Wallop held a press conference to release a letter sent to Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev expressing the Commission's continued concern over the denial of emigration requests by hundreds of thousands of Jews and others in the Soviet Union. The letter, signed by 17 of the 18 congressional commissioners, called for the release of all prisoners of conscience in the Soviet Union such as Anatoly Shcharansky and Iosif Begun.

Prior to the Commission's hearing on the issue of forced labor in the Soviet Union, held in Buffalo, NY, on August 15, Chairman D'Amato held a press conference, displaying examples of items which are made in the Soviet Union with forced labor. These included a Soviet-made tractor generator, a wooden chess set and a souvenir matrioshka doll.

On September 12, a press conference was held in the U.S. Capitol with recently-released Romanian dissident Father Gheorghe Calciu, a Romanian Orthodox priest and Romania's most prominent prisoner of conscience. The press conference was the initiative of Commissioner Representative Chris Smith who had been active in seeking the release of Father Calciu.

The Commission held a press conference on November 6 to call attention to the case of Miroslav Medvid. In a letter to President Reagan, the Commission requested that immediate action be taken to determine if the Soviet seaman wished to seek political asylum in the United States. Senator Gordon Humphey led in this search

for justice, stating that the United States could not ignore Mr. Medvid's right to a fair hearing to determine whether or not he is seeking political asylum. The letter to the President, signed by the Commissioners and released at the press conference, stated that—

> This case must be reopened. A man's entire future is at stake. We must send a clear message not only to Mr. Medvid but to all freedom-seeking peoples in the world that the United States is still the great protector of liberty.

The text of a telegram, which was sent to the Nobel Committee in Oslo, Norway, was released at a press conference on December 9. The telegram protested the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Dr. Evgeni Chazov, Soviet President of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, because he was "personally involved in the persecution of Dr. Andrei Sakharov."

A press conference was held in the U.S. Capitol on December 20 in which six Members of Congress, Cochairman Steny Hoyer and Representatives Michael Barnes, Ben Gilman, Barbara Mikulski, Bob Mrazek and Patricia Schroeder, expressed their solidarity with five imprisoned Rabbis who are serving time in Federal prison to demonstrate the plight of Soviet Jews. The five Rabbis were sentenced on December 12 to 15 days in Federal prison for conducting a peaceful demonstration in front of the Soviet Embassy. The law prohibits demonstrations within 500 feet of an Embassy.

In addition to these press conferences, the Commission maintained extensive contacts with media representatives who recognize the Commission as an authoritative source for background material on human rights issues and specific cases. A number of articles written by reporters were based totally or in part on Commission materials.

Additional topics for press releases issued in 1985 by the Commission included notices of Commission hearings and meetings, nomination of human rights activists for the Nobel Peace Prize, support for pro-Solidarity demonstrations in Poland, the congressional review of most-favored-nation status for Hungary and Romania, the continuing plight of Christian, Moselm and Jewish believers in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the status of Helsinki monitors and other prisoners of conscience, the status of human rights throughout Eastern Europe, the Helsinki 10th Anniversary, the Budapest Cultural Forum, the case of Miroslav Medvid, divided families and other human rights issues.

APPENDIX I

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE, U.S. CONGRESS, HOUSE ANNEX 2, ROOM 237, WASHINGTON, DC 20515 (202) 225-1901

Hon. Alfonse M. D'Amato, (R-NY) Chairman.
Hon. Steny H. Hoyer, (D-MD) Cochairman.

U.S. SENATE COMMISSIONERS

Hon. John Heinz (R-PA)
Hon. James McClure (R-ID)
Hon. Malcolm Wallop (R-WY)
Hon. Gordon Humphrey (R-NH)
Hon. Claiborne Pell (D-RI)
Hon. Patrick Leahy (D-VT)
Hon. Russell Long (D-LA)
Hon. Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ)

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES COMMISSIONERS

Hon. Dante Fascell (D-FL)
Hon. Sidney Yates (D-IL)
Hon. Timothy Wirth (D-CO)
Hon. Edward Markey (D-MA)
Hon. Don Ritter (R-PA)
Hon. Christopher Smith (R-NJ)
Hon. Jack Kemp (R-NY)
Hon. John Porter (R-IL)

EXECUTIVE BRANCH COMMISSIONERS

Hon. Richard N. Perle, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy, Department of Defense.

Vacant, Department of Commerce.

Hon. Elliott Abrams, Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of European Affairs, Department of State.

APPENDIX II

Legislation Relating to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe

June 3, 1976, Public Law 94-304—To establish the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

October 17, 1976, Public Law 94-534—Allowed that the Commission be deemed a standing committee of the Congress for use of funds under Section 502(b) of the Mutual Security Act of 1954 relating to International Travel.

October 7, 1978, Public Law 95-426—Amended the Commission's authorization from $350,000 to $550,000 each fiscal year.

August 15, 1979, Public Law 96-60—Add new subsection allowing that not more than $6,000 in appropriated funds could be used for official reception and representational purposes.

March 27, 1985, Public Law 99-7—To provide, among other things, for rotation of Commission chairmanship; to create official position of Cochairman; to increase the number of commissioners appointed; to allow that Commission employees be considered as congressional employees for purposes of pay and other employment benefits, rights and privileges (retroactive to June 3 1976); and to remove limitation of $550,000 for Commission appropriation.

August 15, 1985, Public Law 99-88—Supplemental increase in fiscal year 1986 appropriation of $75,000.

December 19, 1985, Public Law 99-190—Amendment No. 113, allowing that printing and binding costs of the Commission be charged to the congressional printing and binding appropriation.

Public Law 94-304
94th Congress, S. 2679
June 3, 1976

An Act

To establish a Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there is established the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (hereafter in this Act referred to as the "Commission").

Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Establishment. 22 USC 3001.

SEC. 2. The Commission is authorized and directed to monitor the acts of the signatories which reflect compliance with or violation of the articles of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, with particular regard to the provisions relating to Cooperation in Humanitarian Fields. The Commission is further authorized and directed to monitor and encourage the development of programs and activities of the United States Government and private organizations with a view toward taking advantage of the provisions of the Final Act to expand East-West economic cooperation and a greater interchange of people and ideas between East and West.

Functions. 22 USC 3002.

SEC. 3. The Commission shall be composed of fifteen members as follows:

Membership. 22 USC 3003.

(1) Six Members of the House of Representatives appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. Four members shall be selected from the majority party and two shall be selected, after consultation with the minority leader of the House, from the minority party. The Speaker shall designate one of the House Members as chairman.

(2) Six Members of the Senate appointed by the President of the Senate. Four members shall be selected from the majority party and two shall be selected, after consultation with the minority leader of the Senate, from the minority party.

(3) One member of the Department of State appointed by the President of the United States.

(4) One member of the Defense Department appointed by the President of the United States.

(5) One member of the Commerce Department appointed by the President of the United States.

SEC. 4. In carrying out this Act, the Commission may require, by subpena or otherwise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memorandums, papers, and documents as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued over the signature of the Chairman of the Commission or any member designated by him, and may be served by any person designated by the Chairman or such member. The Chairman of the Commission, or any member designated by him, may administer oaths to any witness.

Powers. 22 USC 3004.

SEC. 5. In order to assist the Commission in carrying out its duties, the President shall submit to the Commission a semiannual report, the first one to be submitted six months after the date of enactment of this Act, which shall include (1) a detailed survey of actions by the signatories of the Final Act reflecting compliance with or violation of the provisions of the Final Act, and (2) a listing and description of

Presidential report to Commission. 22 USC 3005.

present or planned programs and activities of the appropriate agencies of the executive branch and private organizations aimed at taking advantage of the provisions of the Final Act to expand East-West economic cooperation and to promote a greater interchange of people and ideas between East and West.

Report to Congress. 22 USC 3006.

SEC. 6. The Commission is authorized and directed to report to the House of Representatives and the Senate with respect to the matters covered by this Act on a periodic basis and to provide information to Members of the House and Senate as requested. For each fiscal year for which an appropriation is made the Commission shall submit to Congress a report on its expenditures under such appropriation.

Appropriation. 22 USC 3007.

SEC. 7. There is authorized to be appropriated to the Commission for each fiscal year and to remain available until expended $350,000 to assist in meeting the expenses of the Commission for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Act, such appropriation to be disbursed on voucher to be approved by the Chairman of the Commission.

22 USC 3008.

SEC. 8. The Commission may appoint and fix the pay of such staff personnel as it deems desirable, without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and without regard to the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title relating to classification and general schedule pay rates.

5 USC 5101, 5331.

Approved June 3, 1976.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY:

HOUSE REPORT No. 94-1149 (Comm. on International Relations).
SENATE REPORT No. 94-756 (Comm. on Foreign Relations).
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. 122 (1976):
May 5, considered and passed Senate.
May 17, considered and passed House, amended.
May 21, Senate concurred in House amendment.

Public Law 94-534
94th Congress

An Act

To amend the Act of June 3, 1976, relating to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Oct. 17, 1976
[H.R. 15813]

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 7 of the Act entitled "An Act to establish a Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe", approved June 3, 1976 (Public Law 94-304), is amended—

Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.
Ante, p. 662.
22 USC 3007.

(1) by inserting "(a)" immediately after "SEC. 7."; and

(2) by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(b) For purposes of section 502(b) of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, the Commission shall be deemed to be a standing committee of the Congress and shall be entitled to use funds in accordance with such sections.".

22 USC 1754.

Approved October 17, 1976.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY:

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. 122 (1976):
Sept. 30, considered and passed House.
Oct. 1, considered and passed Senate.

Note.—A change has been made in the slip law format to provide for one-time preparation of copy to be used for publication of both slip laws and the United States Statutes at Large volumes. Comments from users are invited by the Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C. 20408.

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COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

SEC. 702. (a) Section 7(a) of the Act entitled "An Act to establish a Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe", approved June 3, 1976 (22 U.S.C. 3007(a)), is amended by striking out "$350,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "$550,000".

TITLE IV—MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

SEC. 401. Section 7 of the Act entitled "An Act to establish a Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe", approved June 3, 1976 (22 U.S.C. 3007), is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(c) Not to exceed $6,000 of the funds appropriated to the Commission for each fiscal year may be used for official reception and representational expenses.".

Public Law 99-7
99th Congress

An Act

Mar. 27, 1985
[S. 592]

To provide that the chairmanship of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe shall rotate between members appointed from the House of Representatives and members appointed from the Senate, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

MEMBERSHIP OF COMMISSION AND APPOINTMENT OF CHAIRMAN AND COCHAIRMAN

SECTION 1. (a) Section 3 of the Act entitled "An Act to establish a Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe", approved June 3, 1976 (22 U.S.C. 3003), is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 3. (a) The Commission shall be composed of twenty-one members as follows:

"(1) Nine Members of the House of Representatives appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. Five Members shall be selected from the majority party and four Members shall be selected, after consultation with the minority leader of the House, from the minority party.

"(2) Nine Members of the Senate appointed by the President of the Senate. Five Members shall be selected from the majority party of the Senate, after consultation with the majority leader, and four Members shall be selected, after consultation with the minority leader of the Senate, from the minority party.

"(3) One member of the Department of State appointed by the President of the United States.

"(4) One member of the Department of Defense appointed by the President of the United States.

"(5) One member of the Department of Commerce appointed by the President of the United States.

"(b) There shall be a Chairman and a Cochairman of the Commission.".

(b) Section 3 of such Act, as amended by subsection (a) of this section, is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"(c) At the beginning of each odd-numbered Congress, the President of the Senate, on the recommendation of the majority leader, shall designate one of the Senate Members as Chairman of the Commission. At the beginning of each even-numbered Congress, the Speaker of the House of Representatives shall designate one of the House Members as Chairman of the Commission.

"(d) At the beginning of each odd-numbered Congress, the Speaker of the House of Representatives shall designate one of the House Members as Cochairman of the Commission. At the beginning of each even-numbered Congress, the President of the Senate, on the recommendation of the majority leader, shall designate one of the Senate Members as Cochairman of the Commission.".

(c) On the effective date of this subsection, the President of the Senate, on the recommendation of the majority leader, shall designate one of the Senate Members to serve as Chairman of the Commission for the duration of the Ninety-ninth Congress, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives shall designate one of the House Members to serve as Cochairman of the Commission for the duration of the Ninety-ninth Congress. 22 USC 3003 note.

FUNCTIONS OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 2. Section 2 of the Act entitled "An Act to establish a Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe", approved June 3, 1976 (22 U.S.C. 3002), is amended by inserting "human rights and" after "relating to" in the first sentence.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE COMMISSION

SEC. 3. Section 7(a) of the Act entitled "An Act to establish a Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe", approved June 3, 1976 (22 U.S.C. 3007(a)), is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 7. (a)(1) There are authorized to be appropriated to the Commission for each fiscal year such sums as may be necessary to enable it to carry out its duties and functions. Appropriations to the Commission are authorized to remain available until expended.

"(2) Appropriations to the Commission shall be disbursed on vouchers approved—

"(A) jointly by the Chairman and the Cochairman, or

"(B) by a majority of the members of the personnel and administration committee established pursuant to section 8(a).". *Infra.*

FOREIGN TRAVEL FOR OFFICIAL PURPOSES

SEC. 4. Section 7 of the Act entitled "An Act to establish a Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe", approved June 3, 1976 (22 U.S.C. 3007), is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(d) Foreign travel for official purposes by Commission members and staff may be authorized by either the Chairman or the Cochairman.".

STAFF OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 5. Section 8 of the Act entitled "An Act to establish a Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe", approved June 3, 1976 (22 U.S.C. 3008), is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 8. (a) The Commission shall have a personnel and administration committee composed of the Chairman, the Cochairman, the senior Commission member from the minority party in the House of Representatives, and the senior Commission member from the minority party in the Senate.

"(b) All decisions pertaining to the hiring, firing, and fixing of pay of Commission staff personnel shall be by a majority vote of the personnel and administration committee, except that—

"(1) the Chairman shall be entitled to appoint and fix the pay of the staff director, and the Cochairman shall be entitled to appoint and fix the pay of his senior staff person; and

"(2) the Chairman and Cochairman each shall have the authority to appoint, with the approval of the personnel and

administration committee, at least four professional staff members who shall be responsible to the Chairman or the Cochairman (as the case may be) who appointed them.

The personnel and administration committee may appoint and fix the pay of such other staff personnel as it deems desirable.

"(c) All staff appointments shall be made without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and without regard to the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title relating to classification and general schedule pay rates.

5 USC 5101 *et seq.*, 5331.

"(d)(1) For purposes of pay and other employment benefits, rights, and privileges and for all other purposes, any employee of the Commission shall be considered to be a congressional employee as defined in section 2107 of title 5, United States Code.

"(2) For purposes of section 3304(c)(1) of title 5, United States Code, staff personnel of the Commission shall be considered as if they are in positions in which they are paid by the Secretary of the Senate or the Clerk of the House of Representatives.

Effective date.

"(3) The provisions of paragraphs (1) and (2) of this subsection shall be effective as of June 3, 1976.".

EFFECTIVE DATE

22 USC 3002 note.

SEC. 6. (a) Except as provided in subsection (b), this Act and the amendments made by this Act shall take effect on the date of enactment of this Act or April 15, 1985, whichever is later.

(b)(1) The amendment made by subsection (b) of the first section shall take effect on the first day of the One Hundredth Congress.

(2) Subsection (d) of section 8 of the Act entitled "An Act to establish a Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe", approved June 3, 1976 (as added by section 5 of this Act), shall be effective as of June 3, 1976.

Approved March 27, 1985.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY—S. 592

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. 131 (1985):
Mar. 6, considered and passed Senate.
Mar. 19, considered and passed House.

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COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

SALARIES AND EXPENSES

For an additional amount for "Salaries and expenses", $75,000, to remain available until expended.

December 19, 1985

H.J. Res. 465

Amendment No. 113: Conforms section number and amends the authorization for the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe to allow printing and binding costs of the Commission to be charged to the Congressional printing and binding appropriation, as proposed by the Senate.

APPENDIX III

Commission Staff Responsibilities

Catherine Cosman, Staff Assistant, has overall responsibility for human rights, including national, religious, political economic and ethnic dissent in the U.S.S.R. She was responsible for the compilation and editing of human rights documents from citizens' groups in the U.S.S.R. and the Baltic States. In terms of U.S. compliance, she follows religious rights and prisoners' issues. Ms. Cosman is fluent in Russian and has a good working knowledge of German.

Lynne Davidson, Staff Assistant, serves as the principal Commission liaison to nongovernmental organizations, the North Atlantic Assembly and Council of Europe. In addition, Ms. Davidson assists the Deputy Staff Director in preparation for all CSCE negotiations. She has overall responsibility for monitoring the Principles section of Basket I with country responsibility for Eastern Europe and Romania in general and Poland in particular. Special project assignments include following issues relating to Soviet Jewry. She served as Special Assistant to the Ambassador at the Madrid Review Meeting and was appointed as human rights advisor and principal NGO liaison for U.S. delegations to the Ottawa Human Rights Experts Meeting, the Helsinki 10th Anniversary commemoration and the Budapest Cultural Forum. Ms. Davidson is fluent in Russian and has a good working knowledge of Spanish.

Orest Deychakiwsky, Staff Assistant, is responsible for all emigration casework from signatory countries. Casework includes responding to inquiries from individuals, organizations and Members of Congress on the status of individual cases. Fluent in Ukrainian and with a good working knowledge of Russian, he has country responsibility for Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. He also directs the Commission's intern program. Mr Deychakiwsky served on the U.S. delegation to both the Ottawa and Budapest Meetings.

John Finerty, Staff Assistant, has primary responsibility for all Russian translations and assists in the preparation of U.S.S.R. human rights documents and reports. Fluent in Russian, he maintains all Commission files relating to the U.S.S.R. and follows the issue of nondelivery of mail and telephone communication in the U.S.S.R. Mr. Finerty is the main CSCE staffer for congressional relations.

Mary Sue Hafner, was appointed to the position of General Counsel in April 1985. In addition to assisting the Staff Director with staff guidance in carrying out projects and activities, Ms. Hafner serves as primary liaison with Cochairman.

Robert Hand, is a Staff Assistant with responsibility for monitoring compliance with the specific provision of Basket II which deals with economic and scientific cooperation. His work includes involvement in the activities of the U.N. Economic Commission for

Europe and other forums relating to East-West trade. Mr. Hand has country responsibility for Hungary, Turkey and Yugoslavia and possesses a good working knowledge of the Russian language. He also serves as the Commission's hearing coordinator.

Michael R. Hathaway, assumed responsibilities of Staff Director beginning April 1985. In addition to overall responsibility for staff direction, Mr. Hathaway is primary liaison with Chairman and the central contact for Commissioners and high-level personnel at the Department of State and other government agencies.

Ray Jorgenson, a senior Foreign Service Officer on loan from the Department of State, joined the Commission in September 1984 as a Senior Consultant. His duties included questions of visa policy and immigration with country responsibility for Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. Mr. Jorgenson was reassigned by the Department in July 1985.

James McDonald, joined the Commission as an intern in July of 1984 after the completion of undergraduate work at the University of Virginia. He became a permanent staff member in February 1985. Mr. McDonald's current responsibilities include assisting with emigration casework, maintenance of the Commission's voluminous library and monitoring human rights in Romania.

R. Spencer Oliver, served as Staff Director and General Counsel of the Commission since its creation in 1976. His duties included overall staff direction, guidance in carrying out projects and serving as the central contact with Commissioners and high-level personnel at the Department of State and other Government agencies. Mr. Oliver left the Commission in April 1985 to assume the position of Chief Counsel on the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Floyd Riggs, a Foreign Service Officer on loan from the Department of State, joined the staff in September 1985 and is expected to remain for 1 year. His responsibilities focus on the Basket III section of the Final Act dealing with cultural exchanges.

E. David Seal, joined the staff in July 1985 as press and information officer assigned from the United States Information Agency. His duties include editing press releases, liaison with the Washington press and preparations for Commission press conferences and briefings. One of Mr. Seal's major responsibilities is editing the CSCE Digest. Mr. Seal is expected to leave the Commission in early 1986 to accept an overseas position with U.S.I.A.

Senior Staff Analyst *Martin Sletzinger* followed developments in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Turkey and had primary responsibility for CSCE followup and military security issues. Mr. Sletzinger resigned from the Commission in April 1985 to accept a position on the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Samuel Wise, Deputy Staff Director, has been with the Commission since October of 1977. A retired Foreign Service Officer, Mr. Wise assists in staff direction and his responsibilities include coordination with private groups and Government agencies on CSCE activities in general. Experienced in CSCE negotiations, Mr. Wise has participated in nearly every CSCE meeting since the 1977–78 Belgrade Review Conference. He is fluent in Italian and has a good working knowledge of Russian and French.

The administrative staff included *Deborah Burns*, the Commission's Office Manager and Budget Officer; *Barbara Edwards*, Administrative Assistant; and *Rebecca Maestri*, Executive Assistant.

The Commission was assisted by a total of six students who participated in the American University Semester Program during the spring and fall of 1985. These students worked part time and earned academic credit for their work. The Commission also utilized the services of seven interns during the summer—*Robert Hull, Blake Robison, Karla Goldman, Marci Kanstoroom, Michael Kabik, Glenn Coleman* and *James Johnson*. These students assisted with casework and other special projects as necessary.

APPENDIX IV

As of January 1, 1986

Listed below are documents and publications available from the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe which are related to the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act.

HEARINGS

Basket II Hearings:

East-West Economic Cooperation—January 13-14, 1977.
Review of Implementation of Basket II of the Helsinki Final Act—March 6, 1980.

Basket III Hearings:

Volume I—*Human Rights*—February 23-24, 1977.
Volume II—*Religious Liberty and Minority Rights in the Soviet Union*—April 27-28, 1977.
Helsinki Compliance in Eastern Europe—May 9, 1977.
Volume III—*Information Flow, and Cultural and Educational Exchanges*—May 19, May 24-25, 1977.
Volume IV—*Soviet Helsinki Watch, Reports on Repression*—June 3, 1977.
U.S. Policy and the Belgrade Conference—June 6, 1977.
Volume V—*The Right to Citizenship in the Soviet Union*—May 4, 1978.
Volume VI—*Soviet Law and the Helsinki Monitors*—June 6, 1978.
Volume VII—*Repercussions of the Trials of the Helsinki Monitors in the U.S.S.R.*—July 11, 1978.
Volume VIII—*U.S. Compliance: Human Rights*—April 3-4, 1979.
Volume IX—*U.S. Visa Policies*—April 5, 1979.
Volume Volume X—*Aleksandr Ginzburg on the Human Rights Situation in the U.S.S.R.*—May 11, 1979.
Volume XI—*Pastor Georgi Vins on the Persecution of Reformed Baptists in the U.S.S.R.*—June 7, 1979.
On Human Rights Violations in Ukraine—July 19, 1979.
Volume XII—*Review of East European Compliance with the Human Rights Provisions of the Helsinki Final Act*—March 25, 1980.
Volume XIII—*Soviet Treatment of Ethnic Groups*—April 29, 1980.
Volume XIV—*Religious Rights in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe*—May 21, 1980.
Volume XV—*Religious and National Dissent in Lithuania*—August 5, 1981.

Implementation of the Helsinki Accords:

The Helsinki Forum and East-West Scientific Exchange—January 31, 1980. Joint hearing of the Committee on Science and Technology, Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Soviet Violation of Helsinki Final Act: Invasion of Afghanistan—July 22, 1981. Joint hearing of the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Fifth Anniversary of the Formation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group—November 16, 1981.

The Crisis in Poland and its Effects on Helsinki Process—December 28, 1981.

Phase IV of the Madrid CSCE Review Meeting—March 23, 1982.

Soviet Involvement in the Polish Economy—April 1, 1982.

The Assassination Attempt on Pope John Paul II—September 23, 1982.

The Plight of Soviet Jewry—June 23, 1983. Joint hearing of the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Psychiatric Abuse in the Soviet Union.—September 20, 1983. Joint hearing of the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Forced Labor in the U.S.S.R.—November 7, 1983. Joint hearing of the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The Situation of Andrei Sakharov and Unofficial Peace Groups in the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe—May 22, 1984.

The Ottawa Human Rights Experts Meeting and the Future of the CSCE Process.—June 25, 1985.

Human Rights Abuses in Cyprus—July 20, 1985.

Use of Forced Labor in the Soviet Union—August 15, 1985.

Human Rights and the CSCE Process—October 3, 1985.

Restrictions on Artistic Freedom in the Soviet Union—October 29, 1985; and *Budapest Cultural Forum*—December 11, 1985.

Soviet Violations of the Helsinki Accords in Afghanistan—December 4, 1985.

SEMIANNUAL REPORTS

Every 6 months since the creation of the Commission, the President, coordinating with the State Department, publishes a report on the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act which is sent to the Commission. These documents can be obtained from the Commission (225-1901) or the State Department (632-8872).

First Semiannual Report dated June 1-December 1, 1976.

Second Semiannual Report dated December 1, 1976-June 1, 1977.

Third Semiannual Report dated June 1-December 1, 1977.

Fourth Semiannual Report dated December 1, 1977-June 1, 1978.

Fifth Semiannual Report dated June 1-December 1, 1978.

Sixth Semiannual Report dated December 1, 1978-May 31, 1979.

Seventh Semiannual Report dated June 1-November 30, 1979.
Eighth Semiannual Report dated December 1, 1979-May 31, 1980.
Ninth Semiannual Report dated June 1-December 1, 1980.
Tenth Semiannual Report dated December 1, 1980-May 31, 1981.
Eleventh Semiannual Report dated June 1-November 30, 1981.
Twelfth Semiannual Report dated December 1, 1981-May 31, 1982.
Thirteenth Semiannual Report dated June 1-November 30, 1982.
Fourteenth Semiannual Report dated December 1, 1982-May 31, 1983.
Fifteenth Semiannual Report dated June 1-November 30, 1983.
Sixteenth Semiannual Report dated December 1, 1983-March 31, 1984.
Seventeenth Semiannual Report dated April 1-October 1, 1984.
Eighteenth Semiannual Report dated October 1, 1984-April 1, 1985.
Nineteenth Semiannual Report dated April 1-October 1, 1985.

CSCE COMMISSION REPORTS

Reports of the Helsinki Accord Monitors in the Soviet Union—Documents of the Public Groups to Promote Observance of the Helsinki Agreements in the U.S.S.R.
Volume I dated February 24, 1977 (no longer in print).
Volume II dated June 3, 1977 (no longer in print).
Volume III dated November 7, 1978.
Implementation of the Final Act of the CSCE: Findings and Recommendations 2 Years After Helsinki (no longer in print)—September 23, 1977.
Implementation of the Final Act of the CSCE: Findings and Recommendations 5 Years After Helsinki (no longer in print)—August 1, 1980.
Implementation of the Final Act of the CSCE: Findings and Recommendations 7 Years After Helsinki (no longer in print)—November 1982.
The Right to Know, the Right to Act—Documenting Helsinki Group dissent from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe (May 1978).
On Leaving the Soviet Union: Two Surveys Compared—A statistical analysis of the patterns and procedures in Soviet emigration (May 1, 1978).
On the Right to Emigrate for Religious Reasons: The Case of 10,000 Soviet Evangelical Christians—Documents the plight of Soviet Evangelical Protestants and their decision to emigrate (May 1979).
Fulfilling Our Promises: The United States and the Helsinki Final Act—Examines the United States' compliance with all areas of the Final Act (November 1979).
Profiles: The Helsinki Monitors (no longer in print)—Listing of biographical information on the arrested members of the various Helsinki groups (December 1979).
Activities Report, 95th Congress—Covers the period from January 1977 through the end of December 1979

Activities Report, 96th Congress—Covers the period from January 1978 through the end of December 1980.

Activities Report, 97th Congress—Covers the period from January 1981 through the end of December 1982.

Activities Report, 98th Congress—Covers the period from January 1983 through the end of December 1984.

A Thematic Survey of the Documents of the Moscow Helsinki Group—Summary of the documents released by the Moscow Helsinki Group on their fifth anniversary (May 12, 1981).

The Madrid CSCE Review Meeting: An Interim Report—A summary of the first phase of the Madrid followup meeting covering negotiations from November 11 through December 19, 1980.

The Madrid CSCE Review Meeting: Phase II Interim Report—A summary of the second phase of the Madrid followup meeting which began January 27 and ended July 28, 1981.

The Madrid CSCE Review Meeting: Phase III Interim Report—A summary of the third phase of the Madrid followup meeting covering the period from October 27 through December 18, 1981.

The Madrid CSCE Review Meeting: Phase IV Interim Report—A summary of the fourth phase of the Madrid followup meeting covering the period from February 9 through March 12, 1982.

The Madrid CSCE Review Meeting: Phase V Interim Report—A summary of the fourth phase of the Madrid followup meeting covering the period from November 9 through December 18, 1982.

The Madrid CSCE Review Meeting—The final report issued by the Commission on the Madrid Meeting (November 1983).

Basket II Compliance: East European Economic Statistical Quality—Prepared by the Congressional Research Service for the use of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (May 1982).

Human Rights in Czechoslovakia: The Documents of Charter '77, 1977-1982—A compilation of nearly all the Charter documents translated into English (July 1982).

The Human Rights Situation in Turkey—Report based on research by a staff study mission to Turkey (October 1982).

Documents of the Soviet Groups to Establish Trust Between the U.S. and U.S.S.R.—May 22, 1984.

The Helsinki Process and East West Relations: Progress in Perspective—A report on the positive aspects of the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act from 1975 through 1984 (March 1985).

The Helsinki Process—10 Years Later—A section-by-section review of the Helsinki Final Act highlighting developments within the Helsinki process over the past 10 years. Prepared for the ceremonies commemorating the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act (August 1985).

ARTICLES AND OTHER PUBLICATIONS

Did Human Rights Survive Belgrade?—Article written by Congressman Dante B. Fascell which appeared in *Foreign Policy*, Issue No. 31, summer 1978.

The CSCE Followup Mechanism: From Belgrade to Madrid—Article written by Congressman Dante B. Fascell which appeared in the *Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law*, Vol. 13, Nos. 2-3, spring-summer 1980.

Negotiating with the Soviets in Madrid—Report prepared by *World Affairs* which is a compilation of the major speeches given in Madrid beginning with the preparatory meeting in September 1980 through the end of phase IV, March 12, 1982.

The Madrid CSCE Meeting—Article written by Congressman Dante B. Fascell for the *Washington Quarterly*, autumn 1982.

Helsinki, Gdansk, Madrid—Article written by Congressman Dante B. Fascell for the *Washington Quarterly*, fall 1984.

Forced Labor in the U.S.S.R.—19-page article published in *Russia*, Issue No. 10, fall 1984. Examines aspects of Soviet forced labor including international legal and CSCE dimensions, current status, forced labor and the Soviet economy, prisoner working conditions, recent trends and future prospects.

Helsinki Commission: The First 8 Years—Report prepared by the General Accounting Office evaluating the work of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, dated March 1, 1985.

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